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CANDID APPEAL

TO THE

AMERICAN PUBLIC:

IN REPLY TO

MESSRS. INGHAM, BRANCH, AND BERRIEN,

ON THE

DISSOLUTION OF THE LATE CABINET.

BY JOHN H. EATON.

CITY OF WASHINGTON:

PRINTED AT THE GLOBE OFFICE.

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City of Washington, }
SEPTEMBER, 1831. }

TO THE PUBLIC:

It is with extreme reluctance that I appear before the public, upon a subject purely of personal character. To me, nothing could be more painful than the necessity of bringing into discussion, in the newspapers, any thing which concerns my private and domestic relations. In civilized society, a man's house is his castle, and the circle of his family a sanctuary never to be violated. He who drags before the public its helpless inmates, and subjects them to rude assaults, deserves to be considered worse than a barbarian. Against those who commit such sacrilege, and shun an honorable accountability, the public will justify an appeal, which, under other circumstances, might not be considered admissible. I expect not by this effort to silence those who have been assailing all that is dear to me. It may open afresh the fountains of their abuse. It is probable, that the very remorse and shame which an accurately drawn picture may produce, will excite my persecutors to raise clouds of fresh calumnies to break upon me with redoubled fury. Let it all come! my head is uncovered, and my bosom bare.

There is another consideration which would seem to impose silence. These are times of angry political contest, unsuited to dispassionate inquiry. Already have the enemies of the President made use of my private relations to injure and harrass him. In attempting to represent him as devoting his thoughts and his power to further my views and wishes, they seek to blind the pro-

ple to the principles and acts of his administration. They will doubtless seize even upon my humble efforts at self-vindication as means of promoting that design, seriously calculating by their machinations, that the people of the United States may be wrought into a "tempest of passion," and thus induced to forget the signal success of his foreign negotiations, and the unparalleled prosperity and happiness which, under his administration, our country enjoys.

But to all these consequences I submit myself with entire resignation. A portion of the community will at least do me justice. They will perceive that the President is in no need of any developments from me to give proofs of his integrity, and that it is not for his sake that I present myself before the public. It is a paramount duty which I owe to myself and to my family, and which shall be performed. Others may conceive, but I cannot describe, the pain those attacks have inflicted. It was indeed enough that I was assailed in private circles, while I was in office; but retiring from its labors, with a view to sit down at my own home, in Tennessee, it was but a reasonable expectation to indulge, that I might escape a repetition of these assaults, and be permitted to enjoy my fireside and friends in peace. But instead of putting an end to this unfeeling war, my resignation served to make my enemies more bold. What before was whispered in dark corners, now glared in the columns of the newspapers. Men who had been my friends—who had received favors at my hands—who had partaken of the hospitalities of my house, and given pledges of friendship at my own board, became my deadliest enemies, while I still confided in them. I sought that redress which wrongs so wanton and deadly provoked, and which public opinion, under such circumstances, has always justified. It was refused in a way which added insult to injury; and I was then accused, by one of the malignant calumniators, as having sought revenge at the head of a band of assassins. Not satisfied with privately injuring me in my own, and the honor of my household, and shrinking from an honorable and just accountability, these persons have, one after another, come before the public, to give countenance and sanction to the calumnies of a reckless press. Mr. Ingham, Mr.

Branch, and Mr. Berrien, with evident concert, and deliberate design, by filling the country with erroneous and discolored statements, and substituting falsehood for truth, have sought to consummate the ruin which their conduct in office so insidiously began.

What can I do? What course adopt? There are persons committed to my charge who are dear to me. I am their only protector. Shall I see them worse than murdered, by men who claim the polish and the culture of civilized life, and not lift my hand and my voice for their rescue? These gentlemen express a desire to preserve their characters, as a precious inheritance for their children. Is the good name of a *mother*, of less value to her orphan daughters? Did they forget, that she whom so relentlessly they pursue, and who in nothing ever wronged them, has two innocent little children, whose father lies buried on a foreign shore? Had these little ones ever injured them? Were they and their mother so much in the way of these gentlemen, that in their malignity they should consent to sap the foundation of their future prospects in life? Had they no remorse, in conspiring and seeking to rob them of all that villany and fraud had left them—the inheritance of a mother's good name? And if they could be stimulated in their addresses to the public, by the desire of transmitting to *their* children a spotless honor and unsullied name, what might not be expected of me, in defence of the slandered wife of my bosom, and her helpless, unprotected children? Attacks on myself, I disregard. A man's character is in his own hands; in his bosom he knows how to protect it. It is by his own acts only, that he can be degraded. Not so with a female. The innocent and the guilty alike, the envenomed tongue of slander may reach and destroy. It is a withering blast, which can blight the sweetest rose, as well as the most noisome weed.

Although I expect nothing at the hands of those who can violate the laws of social life, and all the precepts of "holy charity;" yet by an exposure of their motives and designs, I may be able to render their future malignity powerless. This induces me to make this appeal to my countrymen, and to their award to trust it. There is in the public mind intuitive honor—a native sense of

justice, which revolts at wanton attacks on female character, and in the end will visit the unfeeling assailants with terrible retribution. To these I appeal, and on these rely; not in the hope to silence the malignant and the vindictive, but to make their attacks to recoil upon themselves.

A place in Gen. Jackson's Cabinet, by me, was never desired. My ambition was satisfied with a seat in the Senate which *thrice* had been kindly bestowed upon me, by my fellow citizens of Tennessee. Distrust in my competency to discharge the duties of one of the Departments, and a reluctance to encounter its labors, induced me to prefer my situation in the Senate. About to enter upon untried scenes, with a limited knowledge of the characters and feelings of those by whom he was to be surrounded, the President felt anxious to have near him some of his long tried personal friends, in whom he had entire confidence. He desired that Judge White, my colleague in the Senate, or myself, should accept one of the Departments. I urged it upon Judge White, because I considered him better qualified, and better adapted to the station, than myself. He declined it. I then felt it to be my duty to accept the offer of the President. He had just lost the partner of his bosom, and was solitary and disconsolate. As in his kindness he seemed to think I could be serviceable to him, it did not seem consistent with the friendly relations which had long subsisted between us, to leave him at such a moment.

Mr. Van Buren was appointed, because the President had confidence in his talents and integrity, and because he appeared to be the expectation of the country. Mr. Ingham was selected, for the reason that the President was *induced* to believe that the democracy of Pennsylvania desired it—Mr. Barry, from a confidence reposed in him by the President, derived from his personal knowledge of his worth and merits. Between the first and last named gentlemen and myself, the most cordial friendship has always subsisted: nothing has ever arisen to interrupt in the least our friendly relations.

Mr. Branch and myself were born and reared in the same county of North Carolina, educated at the same college, and had been associates and friends, in early and in more advanced life.

I solicited his appointment as a member of the Cabinet, and at the President's request informed him of the selection. He made no objection—not the least, save on the score of a modest distrust of his competency, and expressed at the time much gratitude towards the President, and exhibited much good feeling towards myself.

With Mr. Berrien I had been on terms of intimacy, and supposing him to be a man of talents and honor, was pleased that he was selected. The President requested me to confer with him in relation to his acceptance. At that time we were in habits of the kindest intercourse. He seemed highly flattered by this manifestation of the President's confidence, and offered no objection to an acceptance, except intimating a possible interference with his private business. The next day he informed me that he would accept, which reply I communicated to the President.

I met all the members of the Cabinet as friends, personal and political, to whom was assigned the high destiny, by harmony of feeling among themselves, of giving unity of design and vigor of action to the administration of General Jackson. In the same light, I am sure, did he consider us. In the singleness of his heart and the ardor of his patriotism, he suspected not that there was amongst us, any other object, than, by our cordial support, to enable him in the Cabinet, as he had done in the field, “to fill the measure of his country's glory.” Far otherwise were the feelings and purposes of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, as in the course of this exposition, will, I believe, satisfactorily and fully appear.

Mr. Berrien in a late address to the public says:

“The annunciations of the names of the intended Cabinet seemed to me, however, to present an insuperable bar to my acceptance of the office which was tendered to me. I thought I foresaw clearly the evils which have too obviously resulted from the selection. A gentleman ‘high in the confidence of the President’—whom he consulted, ‘expressed his decided conviction, founded on a long and intimate knowledge of the President's character, that he would himself speedily see, and correct the evil.’ I yielded to those suggestions, and took my seat in the Cabinet.”

A writer in the *Telegraph*, of the 14th July last, believed to be Mr. Berrien, speaking in behalf of Mr. Ingham, makes the following remarks:

“Pending the organization of the Cabinet, the President was informed by several persons of high standing, and those his strong party supporters, that there were objections to Major Eaton, which would lead to difficulties not likely to be removed.” “It was not necessary for Mr. Ingham to take any part in the affair. Every one knew that public sentiment would, in due time, concentrate on what was amiss, and correct it.”

In the *Telegraph* of the 28th July, probably by the same writer, it is asked:

“By whose advice was it, that Judge McLean was arranged to the War Department, before the Cabinet was announced, in order to remove the ‘malign influence,’ which even then threatened the dissolution of the party. It was by the personal, political and long tried friends of the President, that this advice was given; and it was by the same advice that these gentlemen retained their seats in the Cabinet in the confident hope that the President would sooner or later see his error and correct it.”

These extracts carry on their face evidence of a common origin. If not penned by the same hand, they must have sprung from the same councils—were all written with the same views and same object, and disclose with sufficient clearness to whom I am indebted for the long covert, and at last, open attacks upon me and my household, as well as their purpose. Certain gentlemen, who styled themselves the “personal, political, and long tried friends of the President,” undertook, it seems, without his knowledge or consent, to arrange and fix his cabinet. I, who had been his particular friend and associate for twenty years; who had adhered to him “through good report, and through evil report,” during two bitter contests for the Presidency, and who, against my wishes, was selected as a member of his cabinet, was to be set aside as unworthy, in the estimation of these gentlemen, to associate with him, or to participate in his councils. This secret cabal of exclusive friends advised Mr. Berrien to accept a seat in the cabinet, under the secret expectation that I would be driven from it. By the same persons, Judge McLean was arranged to the War Department, their object being expressly to get rid of me. They advised Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, to cleave fast

to their hold, which they did, even under alleged "indignity and insult" too, in the "confident hope that the President would speedily see and correct the evil." Without the President's knowledge, and without mine, this cabal of "personal, political, and long tried friends," were thus endeavoring to control all the cabinet arrangements, and secretly to place around the President men of their selection and stamp. It was not for him to select his own counsellors, or decide who were his "personal, political, and long tried friends"—men who had supported him only when they had lost all hope of Mr. Calhoun—who had joined his standard only when their favorite candidate had disappeared from the contest, and who had supported him as a secondary choice—Your Inghams, Berriens, and others, were now arrogating to become his exclusive counsellors, and to thrust from his presence as unworthy of his trust and confidence, those who had supported him for his own sake—whose attachment was cemented by years of confidential intercourse—whose faith and energies were pledged to his support, and whose hopes were all concentrated in the success and prosperity of his administration.

Mr. Branch was made the instrument of abler heads, and attempted to become a manager in this business. In his recent letter, he mentions a call which he made on the President previous to my nomination to the Senate, at which he arrogantly represented that my selection would be improper and unfortunate, and gave his reasons, which appear to have related solely to my family. He also states he then came to advise me against accepting a place in the cabinet, admitting that the charges made against my family were false, but representing "what use the opposition would make of it," and that "the enemies of the President would not fail to make a handle of it." He says that he placed Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Eaton on the same footing, and desired to save the President "from recollections which would be painful and distressing." Mr. Branch has a treacherous recollection. He kept no note book, or, like his co-partner, Mr. Ingham, he has accommodated his notes to emergencies. I can put him right in this affair, not doubting his admission of the truth of the narration I offer, if honor be left him, although he may deny the motive which I feel persuaded influenced him at the time.

Failing in the attempt to prevent my appointment, and to dissuade or rather deter me from accepting, Mr. Branch was next made the instrument of a piece of secret management, having in view the same result.

It was suggested to the President after the first arrangement of the Cabinet was made, that Mr. M'Lean entertained objections against remaining in the Post Office Department. It was known that the President was disposed to gratify him, by placing him in another Department, if he could do so with a proper regard to others previously selected. This, it seems, taken in connexion with my known repugnance, under any circumstances, to undertake the labors of that Department, furnished a hint to those who wished my exclusion from the Cabinet of which they hastened to avail themselves. Mr. Branch declared that the President *might place him where he pleased. He should be satisfied*; and proposed to me, that we should, if the President approved it, assent to the placing of Mr. M'Lean in either of the Departments assigned to us, as he might choose, to which I assented. The War, Navy, and Post Office Departments, were then considered open to re-assignment, according to the will of the President. The result was Mr. M'Lean was arranged to the War Department, Mr. Branch to the Post Office, and myself to the Navy Department. This did not meet the object. Mr. Branch made unexpected difficulties, and at the desire of those who proposed the change, the original arrangement was restored.

I suspected no other than a fair and honest motive in all this; but we are now informed, through the expositions recently made in the *Telegraph*, that all Mr. Branch's movements originated in the "advice" of certain "*personal, political and long tried friends of the President*," given with a view, as is now expressly stated, "*to remove*" me from the Cabinet.

At length the Cabinet was formed. Mr. Berrien expressly says, that he entered it, only because he expected "the President himself would speedily see and correct the evil" of my appointment; and that he clearly "foresaw the evils which have resulted from the selection." His declaration is no doubt true. No prophets foresee future events, so precisely and so certainly, as those.

who having the means in their own control, are determined to bring them to pass. Foreseeing the evils, he must have foreseen the means through which their correction was to be brought about. He must have foreseen, that he and his associate friends intended to use the influence and consequence which office gave, to accomplish their expectations—the persecution of my family—the attempt to degrade me, and all the arts which subsequently they have employed to procure my removal.

How could so much be foreseen, if it had not been predetermined? No prophecy could have been so confidently relied on, if it had not then been resolved, by a cabal of the President's pretended "friends," with a view *to concentrate public opinion*, that I and my family should be proscribed from intercourse, with that portion of society over which they and their families had, or could have influence. Not a doubt is left on my mind, that before the nomination of the Cabinet to the Senate, the means of operating on public opinion, and forcing the President to exclude me, were devised, arranged, and fixed upon, by and with the knowledge and approbation of Messrs. Ingham and Berrien, if not of Mr. Branch; and the means to be employed under their boasted sense of honor—an honor which in their bosoms inspired an earnest desire to transmit to their children, "an unsullied, good name" were, the abuse and slander of a mother, with two innocent daughters, whose good name was blended with hers, and in attacks upon my integrity and honor. Did they reason themselves into the belief, that the inheritance of a parent's good name, was of no value, only as it regarded their children; and that whether others lived or perished, was not material, if they and theirs were safe.

Did I merit such course of treatment from Mr. Berrien? We had served together for several years in the Senate of the United States. He was invited to, and was present at my marriage, six or eight weeks before. We were in habits of daily friendly intercourse; on my part, free and unrestrained, and, as I supposed, equally so on his. He professed to be my friend, and such I thought him. Was it honorable, then, and was it just, to hide from me all the "evils" which he "*foresaw*," and suffer me to run blindly upon inextricable difficulties? Should he not have warn

ed me, that not “the opposition”—not “the enemies of the President” merely, as Mr. Branch states, but his friends—“his personal, political, and long tried friends,”—aye, even those whom he had selected as members of his Cabinet, viewed my selection as an evil, and intended to use it to distract his councils, embarrass his administration, and provide for a successor? Had Mr. Berrien frankly informed me, that he and his associates considered my appointment “an insuperable bar” to their acceptance, an issue would at once been tendered. I should have desired the President to excuse me, and given him my reasons, and then, for the sake of harmony, he would have discharged either me or them. But all was concealed from me, and only against the probable course of the opposition,—the enemies of the President, was I advised and warned. I was not taught to expect, that in Ingham, Branch and Berrien, I should find these very enemies, who were smiling upon him, and me, with unqualified professions of devotion and friendship. Against their assaults, it was hence impossible to guard. Again, I ask, was it just or honorable in Mr. Berrien, entertaining the views which he has recently avowed, to conceal them from me, and thus lead me blindly forward, upon a mine which he knew was prepared for my destruction?

However he may excuse himself for his practiced concealment towards me, yet was he bound in duty to the President and to the country, to communicate his views frankly and fully to him. He knew the importance, nay absolute necessity, of entire harmony in the Cabinet, and that the views of the President, in relation to the reformation of the government, and *home interests* of the country, could not be accomplished without it. Mr. Berrien knew, that the President had a right to expect unity of feeling and action amongst those whom he had selected as his counsellors; and that in justice to himself, and to the people who had elected him, he would not knowingly constitute a Cabinet of discordant materials. Yet “*clearly, foreseeing all the evils which have resulted,*” he concealed his feelings and his views, and suffered a Cabinet to be formed, between whose friendly association and cordial co-operation, there was an “*insuperable bar,*” which *he* clearly saw; but which the President did not. By this concealment, and want

of candor, he suffered his friend and benefactor to be led into error, in the very first step of his administration, and which, in common with other enemies, he is now attempting to wield to his destruction. On whom ought the responsibility of organizing such a Cabinet to rest? On the *confiding* friend, who, judging of men by their professions, selected those as its members whom he believed to be friendly to each other, and devoted to the success of his administration; or to those deceitful individuals, who, foreseeing all the evils which have resulted, kept them concealed from the President, and entered his Cabinet only because they expected such discord and division to arise, that "*public sentiment would concentrate*" upon one of their colleagues, and force his removal?

The questions so gravely raised and discussed in the public newspapers about visiting—leaving a card, and invitations to "large parties" or small ones, in this city, cannot but appear matters of derision to the American people. Who calls upon his neighbor, or invites him to eat and drink with him, and who does not, is a matter of no concern to the people; and to them it must appear ridiculous, that statesmen and Cabinet counsellors, have thought it necessary to disturb them with matters so trifling. But even these have been rendered of some importance, as developing the motives of men, and accounting for events of higher importance. And in this view is it, that I am about to introduce such a topic, and beg to be pardoned for doing so.

After my marriage in January 1829, my wife and myself visited Philadelphia, and were absent from Washington two weeks. Amongst those who had called in our absence to visit and pay us the customary congratulations, were Mr. and Mrs. Calhoun—their cards had been left. In cities, leaving at a neighbor's house, a card—a small piece of pasteboard with the name upon it, is called a visit. Not long afterwards, we called at Mr. Calhoun's lodging to return the civility. After sending in our names, we were invited up to the Vice President's parlor, where Mrs. Calhoun was alone, and received us with much politeness.—We spent a short time, quite agreeably, and took our leave. Afterwards, these calls were not repeated on either side. This

was a short time before it was understood who would compose the Cabinet of Gen. Jackson.

Another trifling incident is worthy of note. When it was ascertained certainly that I would be Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun requested the appointment of one of his friends as my Chief Clerk. To another gentleman who made the same request, I made a promise to comply with Mr. Calhoun's wishes. Considerations not thought of at the time, induced me to change my determination; in consequence of which, I declined to make the appointment, and sent an explanation to the gentleman, to whom I had given the promise. None was offered to Mr. Calhoun, for none was asked, and to him no promise had been made. From that time he broke off all intercourse with me, official as well as private.

Soon after the Cabinet was organized, indications of those secret views, which Mr. Berrien now openly avows, began to manifest themselves. The motive was not apparent, yet was it sufficiently evident, that there was a settled design to put a ban on my family, and render my position at Washington disagreeable to me. This was to be promoted by all the influence and importance which high station conferred on some of my colleagues. Confederacies were formed, and efforts made to awaken prejudices. To give countenance to the confederates, and to aid their efforts, old slanders were revived, and new ones circulated. Families coming to the city, were beset on the way, and on their arrival. No means which ingenuity could invent, or malice make use of, were left untried to give tone to public sentiment,—“to make it concentrate” and force the President to separate me from his councils. Hope gave the assurance that in a little while, he would see public opinion concentrated and would “speedily correct the evil.”

Let me not be misunderstood. I never complained of any one for not associating with me or my family. It is the right of every man, and of every woman, to visit whom they please. To see my house filled with unwilling or reluctant visitors, constrained to call by the command of power, could never be desired by me. Happily, I was never dependent on such authority for friends, associates and visitors. Always, when my doors were open, at

“large parties,” and at social calls, I met friends, with cordial hearts and happy faces, who evinced by their frank and open demeanor that they came of their own volition, and not through hope of reward, or fear of punishment. It is true I did not meet some of my colleagues, or their families, nor some of their associates of the same political stamp; but I met ladies and gentlemen quite as respectable, and equally as agreeable. If, as is true, I and my family were not invited to the houses of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, so neither were they invited to mine, and in this we were equal: and neither, as I conceive, had a right to complain.

Mr. Berrien’s family never did refuse to visit with mine, for they never had the opportunity. Custom required, when they came to the city, being last in their arrival, that we should first call on them, if we desired their acquaintance; but we never did call.

How ridiculous does this single fact render Mr. Berrien’s publication, which he has set forth with such grave formality. He had ascertained the sense of society here, he says, and conformed to it in this matter, when in fact he never had an opportunity to conform to, or depart from it. He maintains that the President threatened to dismiss him, because he would not compel his family to visit where he did not choose they should, when in fact they never had an opportunity to visit there. Throughout, he presents me and my family as craving the society of his, which he haughtily refused, when, in fact the first, the natural and the usual advance, on our part, had never been made.

It will be seen, then, that had the President set out to regulate the intercourse of society, and to direct its social relations, he ought to have begun with me, not Mr. Berrien. He must have threatened to dismiss *me*, if I did not compel my family first to call on his and leave a *card*. What! *force* Mr. Berrien, under such circumstances, to *force* his family upon us! The President certainly ought first to have *forced* us to give them an opportunity to decline our acquaintance. To *force* together unwilling people, and particularly to begin with the wrong persons, would indeed appear an odd and strange procedure.

In the autumn of 1829, new attacks began to be made, in whispers, on my integrity. It was said I had conspired with my

wife's first husband, Mr. Timberlake, to defraud the government of large sums of money. Other attempts to get rid of me, having failed, I was now to be presented as being in default to the government, through fraud practised on it. Mr. Timberlake had been a Purser in the Navy, and this charge was based upon a reported deficiency in his accounts with the public; and on a *private letter* of mine, detained in the 4th Auditor's office, showing that on my suggestion, he had remitted money to me. Copies of my *private confidential letters* to him, had been taken from the office, that I might not escape through *apprehended indulgence and favor*, on the part of Mr. Kendall. Matters were considered well arranged, and the proof complete to show, that this delinquency was wholly occasioned by remittances of money to me, and which was yet in my possession. Such were the whispers circulated through the society of this place. But a close investigation, which occupied some time, showed that Mr. Timberlake's account had been deprived, through a series of shocking frauds, of credits to the amount of from 12 to \$20,000, and that justly he was largely a creditor, not a debtor, to the Government. But with mutilated books—abstract of accounts missing, and the inventory gone from the Department, his family can only appeal, under all the circumstances, to the justice and honor of the country, for redress.

While slander held its open day, and midnight round of whisper on this subject, I received from some malignant being, who subscribed himself Iago, the following note:

"Sir, I have written a letter to Mr. Kendall about the money that paid for O'Neal's houses. You know what I mean. Revenge is sweet, and I have you in my power, and I will roast you, and boil you, and bake you; and I hope you may long live to prolong my pleasure. Lay not the flattering unction to your soul, that you can escape me. I would not that death, or any evil thing, should take you from my grasp for half the world."

Who the writer of this fiendish note is, I have never ascertained. I cannot turn my thoughts on an enemy so implacable, that he would be unwilling the man he hated should find repose in death. Yet is it in character with the acts of those

whose forecast pointed to the means, by which the evil of my selection, as a member of the Cabinet, was to be made apparent, and the President forced "speedily to see and correct the evil." If I could have been driven from all respectable society, or had fixed upon me collusion and fraud, in obtaining the funds of the Government, then would the Cabinet have been relieved of my presence, and the prophecy of Mr. Berrien completely fulfilled.

Congress had now commenced its first session after the inauguration of the President. The recommendations in his message had been received with uncommon applause. But it was soon perceived, that little, in furtherance of his views, was to be expected from some of the political gentlemen who were professing regard to the administration. Movements amongst some of my colleagues, with others in the same political interest, indicated a disposition again to wage against me, a war of exclusion. Rumors of a combination to force me from the Cabinet, attracted the President's attention. He suspected that a portion of his Cabinet had entered it, in disguise, and had fomented some of the mischief he had encountered; and accordingly determined, if it should appear that they were guilty of such duplicity, and had combined to harrass and drive out one of their colleagues, they should share the fate they were preparing for another. While reflecting on the course proper to be adopted, Colonel Richard M. Johnson called on a visit; and to him he disclosed his difficulties and intentions. Colonel Johnson entertained a better opinion of these gentlemen than to believe they harbored hostile views towards me, or had entered into a combination to expel me from the Cabinet. Accordingly he solicited the consent of the President to converse with them as a friend, that by ascertaining the suspicions entertained to be incorrect, he might relieve them from the imputation. He had no other authority or permission than this: The mission was of his own seeking; he was actuated solely by a desire to maintain harmony; and if he could, to be of service to these gentlemen. Whether he spoke upon politics—religion—philosophy—ladies' cards, invitations to large parties or small—social or political intercourse—all, all was upon his own responsibility, and upon his own authority. Through him the President

made no proposition, no requisition, and no threat. For myself I knew nothing of it.

It is a little remarkable, that neither of the three gentlemen, in their published statements, speak of any proposition as coming directly from the President, which was considered at all insulting or improper. Though they insist, that Col. Johnson was authorized to threaten, and did threaten them; yet not one pretends, that *directly* the President insinuated any thing of the kind to either. “It is strange, passing strange,” that Col. Johnson, a man of known integrity and honor, should deny this—strange, that when they met the President, he breathed to them nothing like it—and yet stranger still, that in defiance of these proofs, and these circumstances, they still insist, that they were insulted! Who now will wonder that the Cabinet was changed, or who maintain that it ought to have been longer continued? No sooner had Mr. Branch stated, that Col. Johnson had threatened their dismissal, than it was promptly denied by the President, who said he would forthwith send for Col. Johnson; and for that purpose called a servant. Why did the messenger not go? Mr. Branch explains! “It is unnecessary to send for Col. Johnson; for your word is sufficient.” And why is that word not now sufficient? Then, Mr. Branch received it as true—told it, no doubt, to his colleagues—and yet do they come before the public boldly to assert as true, what then was given up as a mistake—an entire misconception on their part. Content with the explanation offered at the time, convinced of the incorrectness of their impressions these gentlemen now assert their displeasure and discontent, and at the end of fifteen months, come out and maintain that to be true, which before had been given up as a false and incorrect impression. As for myself, I can say, and do truly say, that I never uttered, or brought to the consideration of the President, any complaint in reference to myself. I was always content to keep the redress of my own wrongs and injuries in my own hands, and to ask the aid and assistance of no one, in or out of power. No intimation was ever had by me that Col. Johnson intended to make such inquiry; nor did I know that he had made it. The lofty sense of honor entertained by General Jackson would never permit him to compromise the

honor of his friends. He has not compromitted mine; and yet he would have done it, had he used his authority to extort courtesy in my behalf from Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. But why reason about it? If the disavowal of the President, established even by his accusers, who so lately were his professing friends—if to confront Mr. Branch with Colonel Johnson, and which alone was prevented by a declaration that he (Mr. Branch) was entirely satisfied—if the assertion of Colonel Johnson, that he had no authority to communicate any such thing—did not communicate it, and so informed the parties at the time—if all this be not sufficient to prove the falsity of the statements which these gentlemen, in their malignity, have so recklessly hazarded before the public, then would it not be believed, “though one arose from the dead.”

By their conduct at the time, my colleagues manifested that nothing had been required of them, which, as is now asserted, they considered dishonorable. If they had believed so—if, after conversing with the President, they thought he had exacted of them that to which, as honorable men, they could not conform, they should have immediately tendered their resignations. To suppose they could do otherwise, is to presume that for the sake of office they were willing tamely to submit to the “indignity and outrage” of which they now complain. Though the concealments by which they imposed themselves on the President, their conduct towards me, and especially Mr. Ingham’s note-book, in which, being a confidential adviser and in one sense a part of his family, he noted down, if he is to be believed, the free, the private and familiar conversations of the President for future use, present spectacles of human degradation at which honorable minds would revolt; yet, I cannot suppose that they would remain in the Cabinet, under a consciousness that hourly they might be exposed to the same indignity, involving their personal honor, and the honor of their families. It is utterly impossible that gentlemen now apparently so sensitive, could have submitted themselves to such a state of things, without complaint, for fifteen months. By their remaining in the Cabinet so long after the “indignity and outrage” of which they now complain, I must con-

clude that the President had not insulted them by any dishonorable and improper requisition, or else that they loved their offices better than their honor, and that their present violence is caused only by the loss of them.

But in relation to Mr. Branch, I have something even better than Mr. Ingham's note-book, to prove what actually were his feelings towards the President at and about the very time when this pretended indignity of Colonel Johnson was offered. It is a letter* addressed by Mr. Branch to the President, in his own hand writing, on the 29th of January, 1830, and which on the same day was inclosed to me, in the hope that a reconciliation might take place between us. Agreeably to Mr. Ingham's note-book, it was "on Wednesday the 27th day of January, 1830," that this alleged "indignity and outrage" was offered. Of course this letter was written but two days after, and on the identical day when Mr. Branch, feeling himself deeply afflicted at the communication made to him by Colonel Johnson, called, as he states, to see the President; and when, as he says, "the President's feelings were too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered." And were Mr. Branch's feelings too much enlisted "to weigh any reasons?" Was he, as we are told was the case with all three of the gentlemen, indignant at the outrage? Let the letter speak for itself, and show how deeply, and how like an insulted and wounded man he could write at this instant of excitement, when honor and feeling, through the instrumentality of Colonel Johnson, had been rudely trodden under foot.

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, January 29, 1830.

"*Dear Sir:* I have received your note of yesterday's date, and do most cheerfully accept your friendly mediation; more, however, from a desire to give you an additional evidence of the friendly feelings which have actuated my bosom towards yourself, than from a consciousness of having given to Major Eaton just cause for the withdrawal of his friendship. As a further manifestation of the frankness which I trust will ever characterize my conduct, I agree to meet him this day at two o'clock, in the presence of Major Barry, at Mr. Van Buren's, and in his presence also.

"Yours, truly,

JOHN BRANCH.

"To the PRESIDENT of the United States."

* I accidentally found this letter, a few days since, amongst some old papers, not intentionally preserved, for until now I never conceived it to be of any consequence.

This letter, written directly after the indignity complained of was offered, bears no impress of insulted feeling; on the contrary, it breathes a spirit of kindness and friendship towards the President, whom he recognizes as a "mediator," seeking with almost parental solicitude, to heal the division amongst the members of the Cabinet, and anxious for the restoration of harmony. Surely in writing that letter, which he concludes by signing himself, "yours truly," he could not have supposed, that the President had just offered him an indignity; or if so, it only proves how great a hypocrite he is. At that time, we did not speak. As much parade as he makes of his friendly feelings entertained towards me, he was the very reverse of all that the name of friend conveys; and knowing it as I did, I would not permit him to seem to be what he was not. I had refused to return his salutations, and declined all intercourse, except when we met at the President's. I never complained of Mr. Branch, as he asserts in his letter to the public. It was he who complained, if at all complaint were made. His letter to the President, thanks him for his offer to act as a mediator in our difference, speaks of his good feelings towards me, and willingness to meet me at two o'clock that day. I have no doubt it was his professions of friendship and kindness towards me, made to the President, which induced him to become Mr. Branch's mediator in this business. On receiving the letter, he enclosed it to me, and expressed a wish that good feelings could be restored between us. An interview took place, at the room of the Attorney General, at which Major Barry and Mr. Berrien were present.

It was here that Mr. Branch, in the presence of these gentlemen, expressed friendship for me, and in the strongest terms declared, that he did not entertain an unkind feeling towards me, and wished he had a glass in his bosom, through which his every thought could be read. He spoke of the non-intercourse between our families, and said, he had not the slightest objection to a free association; but that he could not control his. I promptly answered, that I did not desire his or any other family to visit mine, except with their own free consent; and that it was my desire our families should, in that respect, pursue such course as they thought

fit and proper. We shook hands and parted as friends. Mr. Berrien affected much satisfaction at this reconciliation, and pretended to hail it as the harbinger of future harmony and good will. I say *pretended*, because, under all the circumstances of recent disclosure, he felt not what he said he did. It was only adding another and another fold, to that cloak of hypocrisy in which he had wrapped himself, from the first formation of the Cabinet.

Such were the incidents of Friday the 29th of January, 1830, the moment when, as their communications to the public disclose, they were writhing under a sense of deep and lasting "indignity and outrage," at the threats of Col. Johnson, borne to them from the President. Where then was the lofty dignity of Mr. Berrien and Mr. Branch, that the one could declare how pleased he was at the reconciliation made, and the other protest the good feelings which he entertained for me?

Let us see how the facts stand, if these men speak truth. On Wednesday, the 27th of January, 1830, the President, through Col. Johnson, threatened to dismiss them, if they did not compel their families to associate with mine, which they considered such an "indignity and outrage," that they seriously thought of resigning. On Thursday, the 28th, the "indignity and outrage" being unatoned and even unexplained, the President wrote a note to Mr. Branch, offering his "*friendly mediation*," to bring about—what? Not social intercourse between our *families*—but a restoration of friendly intercourse between *ourselves*. In the morning of Friday, the 29th, (for he says he will meet me at two o'clock,) he accepted the friendly offer, thus acknowledging that he considered the President an impartial umpire, an unprejudiced, unexcited and just man, in whose hands he could trust his character and his honor; and yet strange to tell, on the same day, having called on the President for some explanation about Col. Johnson's insulting message, he found "*the President's feelings were too much enlisted to weigh any reasons which might be offered*"!! Who can believe all this? "*Most cheerfully*," says he, I "*accept your friendly mediation*." What! Accept the mediation of a man, who, two days before, had required him to humble himself to me like the meanest slave, and had not atoned for it? Accept

the mediation of a man whose feelings were so much enlisted in my favor, that he would not listen to reason? Impossible! Had Mr. Branch felt that an indignity had been offered him, he would have replied to the President: "Sir, your insulting message through Col. Johnson, must be first explained, before I can avail myself of your friendly mediation." By his whole conduct, he showed that he entertained no such feeling, and that the whole story about "indignity and outrage," is a sheer invention, got up now to injure the President.

This letter of Mr. Branch shows, that in addition to Col. Johnson's *friendly mediation*, the President was willing to exert his own, as a *friend*, to heal the breach, in anticipation of the meeting to which he invited the Secretaries, on Friday the 29th, to declare the basis on which he had resolved to fix the harmony of his Cabinet. Mr. Branch and myself, the principal difficulty having arisen between us, met, as has been stated, at Mr. Berrien's, and adjusted our relations amicably; and yet it is pretended, that this reconciliation produced, as is seen from Mr. Branch's note, by the kind and friendly interposition of the President, is represented to have been *immediately preceded* by "indignity and outrage," and to have been *succeeded* by a state of feeling too much excited "to weigh any reasons which might be offered."!! How thoroughly is all this contradicted by Mr. Branch's contemporaneous note.

Private difficulties were now at an end, and, as was well understood, families were to visit or not, according to their inclinations. In two days the "indignity and outrage" which had been offered to these gentlemen was forgotten, so much so that for fifteen months matters glided on in tolerable harmony. Nothing more was said or heard of this subject, until the President, as he had an unquestioned right to do, thought proper to request their resignations. Then were old notes and memoranda burnished up, and that over which they had slept so long, immediately became a subject of deep and "awakening interest to the American people." The truth is, this *farce*, which is now brought out on the public stage, was designed for a different occasion. It was in January or February, 1830, that they expected to exhibit before the

public, and to unfold the tale of threats from the President, dismissal, and family association, and all that. Not being dismissed, then, as they expected, they laid aside their prepared tale; but having at length lost their offices, they bring it forth upon an occasion which it does not fit, and vainly attempt to attribute the dissolution of the Cabinet to a false ground. That event they knew sprung from an entirely different cause—a cause which will satisfy every impartial man when he comes to understand it. To account for their removal, they offer any but the true reason, and hence run into all sorts of absurdity.

Shortly after this, about the 20th of March, a preparatory meeting of a few members of Congress was held, with a view to request the President to remove me from the Cabinet. Being apprised of their design, he made a remark which satisfied the leaders in this movement, that to persist in their course would serve to expose them to public reprobation, and result in fruitless endeavor. Accordingly, the project was abandoned, or at least suspended.

I do not impute to all who participated in this preliminary step, a design to unite ultimately in a measure of such high dictation to the President. Some were at first misled by false representations, and induced to believe that his peace and comfort, as well as the success of his administration, depended upon it; others attended the meeting to point out the impropriety of the course, and to dissuade their friends from persisting in their design.

Now, what was the motive for all this relentless persecution? Could it be that my wife was indeed the cause? Was it merely to exclude a female from their “good society”? Was one woman so dangerous to public morals, and so formidable in influence and power, as to require all this strong array of Cabinet counsellors—combination of members of Congress—confederacy of fashionable ladies? Was it for that, attacks were made upon the integrity of her husband: and honor, truth and candor sacrificed? The idea is truly ridiculous! She was lone and powerless. Those who liked her society, sought it: and those who did not, kept away. Neither she nor her husband, entered into cabals and intrigues, to the prejudice and injury of others. Their own multi-

plied wrongs, they bore with as much patience as could be expected, from mortals endowed with human passions and sensibilities. A common understanding prevailed, express in relation to one family, and which was also understood in relation to others, that each should seek their own associates, according to their own will, uninfluenced and unrestrained. The *motive*, therefore, was not to exclude us from society. It is a matter altogether *too small* to account for the acts and the untiring zeal of so many *great men*.

Was the *motive* merely to exclude me from the Cabinet? Was my presence there, dangerous to the interest of the country, or to its institutions? Had I the power or the disposition to injure the one, or overthrow the other? Was it pretended that I wanted the ability, intelligence or integrity, necessary to the management of the Department of War? Of its management, there has been no complaint, while it was in my hands! I left it at least as prosperous as I found it! Was it suspected that I was not true to the President, and would prove false and faithless to his administration? A confidential intercourse of more than fifteen years, the highest admiration of his character, and the deep personal interest felt in the success of his administration, were surely sufficient to guard me against that. Nothing of this sort entered into the minds of my traducers. They had no desire for my exclusion on account of any suspicions entertained, that I would willingly do injury to the interests of the country, its institutions, or to the President! To what then shall we look for this *motive*? An ardent friend of the Vice-President, in 1829, in one short sentence disclosed it:

“Major Eaton is not the friend of Mr. Calhoun.”

It was this which rendered me unfit for the Cabinet, and for the respectable society of Messrs. Ingham, Branch, and Berrien. I could not, perhaps, be used to promote the views of Mr. Calhoun, and might exert an influence to induce General Jackson to stand a second election. It was not thought that in my hands the influence and patronage of the War Department, could be used in favor of a successor. In that they did me justice. It was not so used, nor ever would have been. It was a subject about which I spoke not, and felt not. Not even was I solicitous for General

Jackson again to be selected, except on the ground that his principles and the course of his administration, when fairly tested, should be found in accord with the general sense of the people and the country. At a proper time they would determine this matter, and there I was willing to rest it, undisturbed by any private or official interference of mine.

But "Major Eaton was not the friend of Mr. Calhoun." and this was a sufficient reason, why he should not be permitted to enter the Cabinet, if to be prevented; or for forcing him out when there. The ineffectual attempts to exclude me, have already been alluded to. It has been shown that Berrien and Ingham, concealing deep in their own bosoms their feelings, entered the Cabinet, under a full conviction that I presently would be excluded—that Mr. Calhoun's family and mine, before my appointment, interchanged civilities, and that he sought of me the appointment of a friend as Chief Clerk—and that thereafter all private and official intercourse between us, ceased. Let it be borne in mind, that the principals—those who have been actively employed against me, are the friends of Mr. Calhoun—his devoted, active partizans. It is readily to be inferred, then, that this "high wrought tempest," has proceeded from political designs, connected with the future hopes and expectations of Mr. Calhoun; and this inference I have it in my power to confirm, by the most unquestionable facts.

Duff Green, Editor of the United States Telegraph, has been from the first the instrument of Mr. Calhoun, by whose movements he has sought to bring his plans into operation. To him the feelings and plans of his party have been known. He has been their chief manager; first their private, and now their public organ. Him they chose to carry on their private correspondence—him they selected to make their *debut* against me, they standing behind the scene with their notes, memoranda, and concerted statements, to back and sustain him. As he is their witness and their friend, their agent and associate, they will not impeach the testimony borne by *his acts*. His *word* would not be introduced by me as evidence against any whom he was desirous to injure. Before I knew him, I rendered substantial services to this man;

but his ingratitude is a warning to the friends who now confide in him, of what they may expect if interest or policy shall hereafter make it necessary. Before he left Missouri, he was poor and penniless, too much so, as he informed me and others, to be able to remove his wife and children to this place, where he had then lately established a press. Upon his application to me, and stating his necessities, I borrowed for him fourteen hundred dollars; part of which he repaid in about fifteen months, and the balance only recently; when he found the sense of the community shocked by the baseness of employing the means furnished by my unreturned advances to destroy my reputation.

In difficulty here, and pressed for money, he again in 1826 applied to me, when, through a friend of mine in Baltimore, I obtained for him \$2,500. For the very press from which, probably, he daily circulates his abuse of me, I have a note which was protested and paid by me, on which I was not an endorser, and which has been in my possession several years, the whole, or a part of which still remains unpaid. To my exertions and zeal in his behalf, as most of the Senate of the United States can testify, is he indebted for his first success as public printer, the annual receipts of which appointment at this time are not less than from thirty to fifty thousand dollars. These things might have been omitted, for charity and friendship are secret in their operation, and should not be proclaimed to the world; but surely I may be permitted to mention them, not in the spirit of an ostentatious liberality, but that the public may be able to appreciate the characters of my persecutors.

In 1829-'30, Mr. Green was a frequent visiter at my house to "large parties," and to small, with his wife and daughters, and invited my wife and myself to his. He, on several occasions, tendered his services and his paper in vindication of us, against the slanders and abuse which at that time were whispered about; and as it regards one of his compurgators, on whom now he would rely as a good and sufficient witness, but in whom then, he had no confidence, he placed in my hand a statement of *his own brother*, tending to impeach him. What now, has brought *them* so closely together, I know not. I only know that he hates

me beyond even the power to extend common justice; and wherefore is it so? Because bad men are apt to dislike those from whom they have received favors. But that he should descend so far as to become the traducer of a female, because she is the wife of one to whom he is under obligations, never to be repaid, is indeed strange! Mark his present course! His obligations of friendship certainly are not cancelled; at least to the extent that gratitude should be concerned. Without provocation on my part, and without change in the character and deportment of myself and family, he is daily dragging before the world those, into whose society he introduced his wife and daughters, and whom voluntarily he proffered to defend! He does not pretend that now, he knows more, than when, with and without his family, he called—talked—smiled, and treated us as friends, wronged and persecuted. Was he sincere then, or now? If *then* sincere, how unutterable must be his depravity, in becoming the very leader of the band of traducers, who at present occupy the public attention! He then performed the duty of a friend, and acted up to the principles of an honest man; but yielding to the political intrigues of his great leader, he has sacrificed justice and decency, his own reputation, and the feelings of his family, to subserve the cause of *that* friend, who never was *his* friend. This man is a fit associate of Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien. He has united with them on a nefarious purpose, in the accomplishment of which, all that is “holy in charity,” exalted in honor, and sacred in truth, have been rudely outraged and trodden under foot. What object has he to attain? What purpose to answer? Surely, he cannot think that in the choice of a Chief Magistrate of this country, the American people are so debased, that female character and feeling, are to be made the test of elections.

This man, to different persons, and in various directions, early disclosed the designs which actuated him, and others who were associated with him in feeling and in interest in their conduct towards me. I have a statement from S. P. Webster of this city, detailing the substance of Mr. Green’s remarks to him in the fall of 1829; at the very time when he was professing before me high consideration and great respect, and regard.

Mr. Webster, in presenting the remarks made to him in November, 1829, says—repeating Mr. Green's language:

“ That Major Eaton, remaining in the Cabinet, was of great injury to the party—that he was used by the Secretary of State to forward his interested views; and if he remained in the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, who held complete influence over him, would be able to manage the President as he pleased, and direct the acts of the Government to promote his (Van Buren's) future prospects. That Major Eaton ought to be sent Minister to Russia, or at any rate, should not remain in the Cabinet; and that if some decisive step were not taken soon, he did not know what might be the consequence. And further, that the President ought not to be run a second time. That Mr. Van Buren was using all his influence to prevail on him to run again, and in that event, would have obtained such an influence over him and his friends, as to be able to command their influence at a subsequent election—that General Jackson ought to go home.”

I have a statement of another and similar conversation, held by Mr. Green, in December 1829, with Gideon Welles, Editor of the Hartford Times.—He says:

“ On the subject of the next Presidential election, Mr. Green adverted to the embarrassed situation of Mr. Calhoun at the expiration of his present term, when he would have served eight years, equal to that of any of his predecessors; and that Mr. Van Buren, taking advantage of his situation wished to ruin him by driving him into retirement. It was the policy of Mr. Van Buren, he said, to persuade General Jackson to consent to a re-election, because that would lead to the postponement of Mr. Calhoun's claims, and occasion him in a great degree to be forgotten. It would put Mr. Van Buren in advance of him, and this was the reason he was desirous that General Jackson should consent to a re-election.”

Again he remarks to Mr. Welles, on this subject, about which it seems, he felt such deep interest and concern:

“ That Mr. Calhoun had no influence with the President, and could have none, while Major Eaton was there; nor could any of his friends receive appointments, so long as he was in the Cabinet. He endeavored to excite my jealousy by representing, that Mr. Van Buren, through Eaton, was endeavoring to confer all appointments on the old Crawford party. It was indispensable, therefore, for the prosperity of the administration, and the harmony of its members, that Major Eaton should leave the Cabinet, and leave Washington. There was one way in which he could retire honorably and victoriously. If he would accept the mission to Russia, he would be making an honorable exchange for the War Department: and

"all were willing that Mr. Branch should be dismissed, which would furnish Eaton a triumph."—[For the statements at large, see Appendix A and B.]

Thus through this chosen organ of Mr. Calhoun, we are possessed of the true motive which actuated my kind assailants. Their plan was that General Jackson should be President but for four years, and that Mr. Calhoun should succeed him. The *Telegraph* was considered by its Editor so omnipotent, that its dictation was not to be, and could not be, resisted; and that it rested exclusively and alone with him to declare who should, and who should not "rule over us." Effect is often mistaken for cause, and in this case it seemed quite to have been overlooked, that the former consequence of this journal, arose from the circumstance, that heretofore it went with the people—not the people with it. The moment, however, that Mr. Van Buren was appointed Secretary of State, jealousy and fear arose, and then the desire was to place around the President as many of Mr. Calhoun's friends as possible, to counteract the apprehended and dreaded influence; a part of which I most gratuitously was supposed to be. Devoted, as I was said to be, to General Jackson, and the success of his administration, my appointment was calculated rather to thwart than to promote their ulterior designs. It was deemed necessary to prevent it; but if that could not be effected, then adequate means were to be resorted to to get me out of the way. All this Mr. Ingham and Mr. Berrien foresaw. *Two* of my colleagues, if not the *third*, were in the secret, and using the influence and importance which office gave them and their families, to promote and further their grand design.

Months had rolled away, and as yet the President had never seen and corrected the evil as was expected. Mr. Van Buren, it was feared, had gained, and was gaining so fast upon my esteem, that serious apprehensions were entertained that I would fall within the vortex of his influence. In addition, it was imagined, or rather feared, that General Jackson might consent to a re-election, and reasons were discerned why Van Buren would desire it as matter of interest to him, and how, through my influence, the

matter might succeed, and the claims of Mr. Calhoun be deferred, his prospects injured, and he driven into retirement. Fear and apprehension, and an impatience of longer delay arose. "Some decisive step," says Mr. Green, "must be taken, or else I do not know what will be the consequence." This "malign influence," which, operated upon by the crafty subtlety of Mr. Van Buren, must be removed, or the effect will be to postpone Mr. Calhoun's claims, and drive him into retirement. It must be removed from the President, and to accomplish it, I was to retire, not only from the Cabinet, but from Washington, that I might be as far distant as possible from the scene of their fruitful operations. The Secretary of War was not qualified for the duties of the War Department; yet he might be sent to represent his country at one of the most important courts of Europe. He and his family were not fit and good society for the families of such pure honorables as Ingham, Branch and Berrien, and yet they were to be considered quite "good society" enough for one of the first and most powerful monarchs of Europe.

But more! They were even willing to afford me a *triumph*. For the sake of getting me away from the President, they were ready and disposed, that Mr. Branch, one of the friends of whom they had made a dupe and instrument, might be dismissed. Amidst all this tirade of abuse and insult, previously offered, merely to get rid of my supposed influence, they were yet willing to bestow on me office and emolument, to mount me on a triumphal car, and tie their friend, Mr. Branch, to its wheels. Now, can any man in his senses fail to wonder, that I should decline all these liberal offers, and finally retire from the Cabinet for no better reason than is asserted by these gentlemen, that the families of Ingham, Branch and Berrien would not visit me and my family? Truly, they make me out a greater patriot than I am willing to be considered, while they afford to Mr. Branch no great cause for thanksgiving to them. Their proffer shows how little he knew of those persons, who, for all his zeal, and ardor, and malignity to serve them and their cause, were yet willing to sacrifice him to their ambition, and to their thirst for office. As a part of the consideration in getting rid of me, they were willing to dis-

pose of him in any way, and at any sacrifice. Thus you perceive, my countrymen, the real objection to me, as a member of the Cabinet, and why it was that Messrs. Ingham and Berrien entered it with concealed purposes, and with hypocritical professions. You can perceive the reasons why I and my family have been so relentlessly pursued by the friends of Mr. Calhoun; and you perceive the origin of the progressive and concerted attacks, first upon me, next upon Mr. Van Buren, and lastly, upon the President, that the one might be sent to *Russia*, the other to *Albany*, and the third to the solitude of the *Hermitage*. All has originated in the restless spirit of Mr. Calhoun and his partizans, and in a determination that General Jackson should be President but for four years, and that Mr. Calhoun must and should be his successor.

In the winter and spring of 1829-30, Mr. Green's paper gave confirmation of the feelings and plans developed in his conversations with Messrs. Webster and Welles. In December, the New York Enquirer intimated that the re-election of Gen. Jackson was desirable, and ventured to suggest, that Mr. Van Buren might be a candidate, provided he declined. Mr. Green sharply rebuked the Editor for meddling with the subject, and especially for introducing the name of the proposed successor. In March, 1830, Mr. Webb again introduced the subject, though in a different shape. He says: "We repeat, that General Jackson, and he only, will be the candidate of the republican party for the next Presidency." In reply, the Telegraph again took exception; and although not so frank and full, as in the previous conversations had with Mr. Webster and Mr. Welles, yet the article dimly discloses the same designs. General Jackson must not again be a candidate, least "his acts should be subjected to the imputation of selfish ends, and electioneering purposes." He might not think it his duty "to sacrifice his private comforts;" or, in the more distinct language held to Mr. Webster, "he ought to go home" to the Hermitage. There is in this article, nothing of Mr. Van Buren's designs and intrigues; or Mr. Calhoun's claims. These could be better managed, and to happier effect, through private arrangements, which were then in progress, though not complet-

ed. It was not yet time to appeal to the public for the correction of "evils," which the President could not be made to see; but *that* time was considered to be near at hand, and was evidently foreboded by the tone of the Telegraph.

Most of the President's nominations had been before the Senate during the whole winter, and the public were at a loss to know why they were not disposed of. The friends of Mr. Calhoun were constantly pouring into the ears of those who were depending on the Senate for confirmation, exaggerated accounts of his strength in that body; and the political preferences of those in nomination, were secretly and artfully sought after. They pretended to have polled both houses of Congress, and to have ascertained that a majority in each, were his friends. Mr. Hill was rejected from the office of Second Comptroller of the Treasury, and Mr. Green paid him a visit of condolence, during which he sought to persuade him, that he had been sacrificed to "the Eaton and *Van Buren influence*." Others were privately warned, that they were in danger from the same quarter. It certainly would have been a masterly stroke of policy, if Mr. Hill could have been sent to New-Hampshire, Mr. Kendall to Kentucky, Mr. Noah to New York, and other former Editors back to their homes, to resume their professional duties, impressed with the belief, that they had been made the victims, not of an *Ingham, Berrien and Branch*, but of "the Eaton and Van Buren influence." It was a good idea, if it could have succeeded; but being rather far-fetched, it failed. Thus is it apparent, that it was not the Secretary of War alone, that they desired to get rid of, but the Secretary of State also. One of the members of Congress, who attended the preparatory meeting about the 20th of March, for the purpose of regulating the President's Cabinet, being enquired of, if my removal would satisfy them, answered emphatically: "*No; we will be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of Van Buren.*"

But the removal of these two unrepresented Secretaries at this meeting, was not the only subject probably discussed before it, and which failed of success. The Premier, General Jackson himself, a more important personage than all, he too was to be disposed of: and the better to effect it, conversations were to be

held with strangers visiting the city; and private letters were to be written, to prepare the minds of leading politicians at a distance, to support the decisive movement. It was not proper, nor the proper time, openly to take ground in the newspapers;—sapping and mining were preferable. An anti-Van Buren party was to be gotten up, and under that banner, without seeming to be in opposition to the President, it was thought the discontented and dissatisfied of all parties could rally, until the scheme being fully matured the mine was to be exploded, when Mr. Calhoun and the *Telegraph* were “to ride on the whirlwind and direct the storm.” On the 19th of March, but a day before this preparatory meeting of members to re-organize the Cabinet, at least in part, Mr. Green wrote a letter to Andrew Dunlap, United States District Attorney at Boston. In that letter he says:

“The political horizon is from day to day, more clearly indicating the point whence the storm cometh. The article from the *Massachusetts Journal* and the last letter to the *United States Gazette*, leave no doubt that Webster has resolved to push forward boldly, and on Clay alone. If Clay succeeds, Webster’s fortune is made. If Clay falls, the Lieutenant becomes the Commander of the defeated force. He comes into the market at the head of an organized and powerful party, and associated as he intends to be, with New York [Mr. Van Buren] he will have a powerful influence at his command.

“Mr. ——— who was so much with Webb, gave me, as a piece of advice intended for my own benefit and guidance, the information that Mr. Webb had, while here, been advised not to attack Mr. Webster. Will it not be well to keep an eye on the *Courier*, and also on ———? Clay and Webster rely on the Bank of the United States and the federal party. ——— is their organ in ———. Let them succeed, or let them make any compromise, and the democracy of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, are the victims which must be offered up to Webster’s vengeance. Is this not obvious? Unless the divisions and disunion of our party can be healed, defeat is certain. **BOLD AND DECISIVE MEANS ENSURE ITS TRIUMPH.** There are some now in power, who accustom themselves to think lightly of the New England democracy. My own opinion is, that that democracy *may* yet hold the fate of the Union in their hands.”

Thus were the democracy of New England addressed. They were warned against the *New York Enquirer*, and notified of an ultimate coalition, first with Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, and if

that failed, then with Mr. Van Buren. Webster would “come into the market” in great force, and sell out to Mr. Clay, if he could purchase, or to Mr. Van Buren if he could not. The jealousy of the New England democracy was thus to be aroused; and they excited to action by being told “they were to be offered up as the victims of vengeance;” and that “*bold and decisive means would ensure us triumph.*” Thus was it hoped for and expected, that the democracy of New England would be aroused, and prepared to support “*the bold and decisive means,*” then in contemplation, to expel “the Eaton and Van Buren influence” from the councils of the President,—prevent him from consenting to a re-election; and have every thing arranged, and prepared to destroy him if he did consent.

In a few days after, a letter was sent to Mr. M. M. Noah, of New-York. In it Mr. Green says—

“I have no doubt that the last article in the Courier, as well as that of the 12th, was prepared *here*, and are part of the intrigue intended to separate the President from his earliest and best friends.

“As to Mr. Calhoun, the object of the Courier is to drive me to the alternative of abandoning him or General Jackson. The artifice is too shallow for success. It will recoil upon its author. Those who desire to monopolize General Jackson’s popularity for the use of Mr. Van Buren, are interested in circulating such a report, which Mr. Webb took with him from here; but the intelligent friends of the President, who associate with the Vice President, know it to be false.”

The report here alluded to, and declared to be false, was that Mr. Calhoun intended to oppose the re-election of General Jackson. How false it was, the reader, under all the circumstances presented, is prepared to decide. But it was not wise policy, then, to permit such an impression to go abroad. At that time General Jackson was not a candidate for re-election, nor was it known that he would be. The true policy of the cabal was to maintain towards him the appearance of friendship, at least until that point should be settled. It was only the “malign influence” of those who might endeavor to persuade the President to consent to a re-election, and who sought to monopolize his popularity for the benefit of Mr. Van Buren, whereby to thwart the plans and projects of Mr. Calhoun, that were to be assailed.

He also wrote on the 25th of March to Mr. Ritchie, Editor of the Richmond Enquirer, and employs the following language:

"If there ever was a time which demanded that the friends of the constitution should be firm, wise, and united, the moment has arrived. The payment of the national debt will present a new crisis in the history of nations, and create the necessity of new legislation, based upon the state of our treasury, thereby produced. This question will then be directly presented to the American people—Will you increase the expenditure to meet the existing revenue, or will you diminish the revenue to the existing expenditure?"

"If General Jackson is *now* declared a candidate, I foresee that a new race for popularity commences. He occupies the position of *patronage*, and Mr. Clay that of the American System. Do not both these tend to the same termination? Can the administration contend with Mr. Clay and profess to be the friends of internal improvement and of the tariff, without throwing its influence in favor of the vast projects of public expenditure which it is the business of Mr. Clay and his friends to set on foot? Is it not the duty of all those who desire to bring back the constitution to its original purposes, to postpone the Presidential election until the discussion upon the great questions, connected with the approaching state of our finances, shall have brought them home to every man's door? Until the people shall know that Mr. Clay's project is to take ten millions annually out of the pockets of one portion of our citizens, for the purpose of *buying up* another."

Mr. Green well knowing Mr. Ritchie's devotion to principle, did not venture to approach him on any other ground than that of principle. Appealing then to his principles, he endeavored to alarm him with apprehensions that the policy of General Jackson would be substantially the policy of Mr. Clay—that "*patronage and the American System tended to the same termination.*" The object was a little more time for private action, and hence was Mr. Ritchie to be prevailed upon not to commit himself in favor of the re-election of the President, or at least to remain neutral in relation "to those bold and decisive means," which were then thought necessary to "*insure us triumph.*"

These evidences of political management, preparatory to some contemplated grand movement, all of which bear date about the time of the preliminary meeting of certain members of Congress, to compel the Cabinet to be re-organized, are from the Telegraph,

and were voluntarily disclosed by the Editor himself. I have another letter, which has not before appeared, written by Mr. Green at the same time, 25th of March. I am authorized to use it. The body of the letter, I am informed, is not in the hand writing of Mr. Green, although the signature is. It doubtless was a circular carefully prepared and arranged, and forwarded in various directions, and to different persons.

“ *The intrigues of some individuals near the President* are daily developing themselves, and must soon end in the disappointment of those concerned in them. *The article in the New York Courier, assailing the press* [The Telegraph] *and the article of the 23d, assailing the Senate, have their origin in those intrigues, the object of which is to make the President and others believe that Mr. Calhoun is resolved to oppose them, and thus transfer the President's popularity to Mr. Van Buren.* I SHALL WAIT A FEW DAYS FOR FURTHER DEVELOPEMENTS. In the mean time I shall take the liberty of asking you to suspend your opinion until you shall have seen the whole of the matters in issue, and then act on the side of patriotism. I have never deceived my friends. I have never sounded false alarms. I now say to you, that the remarks, so far as Mr. Calhoun is concerned, are false, and time will shew the true object of his enemies. Mr. Calhoun is known to be the true friend of the President.”

At this time, Mr. Calhoun was at Washington. Who can believe, that during all this while, of “measured step and slow,” he was not counselled and advised with; and that this circular was written by his advice, or passed under his revision and inspection? It can hardly be believed, that without his approval, Mr. Green would take a course so important to his future political interests. It cannot be doubted, that these letters to Dunlap, Noah, Ritchie, and especially this circular, were written by and with Mr. Calhoun's advice, or passed his revision. The object and purpose of the last, was to show, that Mr. Calhoun “is the true friend of the President”; next, how management and intrigue were going on near the President; and lastly, that in a FEW DAYS a full exposure would be made.

Wherefore all this secret, private, political arrangement? Why all these conversations, this wide spread correspondence, these intrigues in Congress, these preparatory movements “in open day and secret night”? Why this restless jealousy, and fearful fore-

boding of Mr. Van Buren—this fear that he would induce the President to consent to a re-election—this apprehension that I had lent myself and my influence, to bring about results, which were to thwart Mr. Calhoun, and postpone his claims? Why the attempt to alarm, and to arouse the democracy of New England? Wherefore disturb Mr. Noah's tranquillity, with fancied tales of plots and intrigues, and Mr. Ritchie with grave and oracular warning? Wherefore, in the *circular* of the 25th of March, is language so impressive and foreboding, and of such solemn and prophetic import, employed? What awful event, or dread design, was a "FEW DAYS" about to disclose, that friends, on the ground that they had NEVER BEEN DECEIVED, nor *false alarms been sounded*, should be implored to suspend their opinions? Was all this note of preparation—this bustle—this management—this toil by day and profound meditation by night—these solemn warnings and doleful cautions, to be the mere annunciation, that Mrs. I.—B.—B. and E. did not interchange visits, or invite each other to LARGE PARTIES at Washington, and that the President, in martial pomp and spirit, had sent the gallant Hero of the Thames, the harbinger of a dread threat, if it were not otherwise?

Oh, no! It was no such unimportant matter, which in a "FEW DAYS," with astounding effect, was to be brought before the American people. It was a general attack upon all who would not acknowledge Mr. Calhoun's legitimate right of immediate succession; a plot was to be discovered, and then we were to have an expose of those intrigues near the President, which were to evince to the world that a transfer of his popularity to another was designed. Mr. Van Buren was to be stigmatized as the author; and I was to be marked as his humble instrument in the business. It was intended next to denounce all the President's personal friends, who were near him, as a "malign influence"—to represent him as the victim of their intrigues, that one by one, they might be driven from him; or if he would not part with them, and should prove refractory, to open the phials of their wrath against him, until sickened and disgusted with the turmoil, he might retire to the solitude of the Hermitage, and yield the strife of politics to the Vice President and his rivals. All the visiting

cards that were ever printed and circulated in this city, were as nothing, compared to this grand—this important design, which was to be brought out subsequently as an afterpiece to the new plot that was built upon the letter of Mr. Crawford, and the published correspondence.

The question arises, why were not these plans carried out at the intended time? Why not executed? Why were these designs suspended, and all the labor of preparation brought to a pause? Passing events furnish the answer. On the 31st of March, the day after the letter to Mr. Ritchie was written, and before the “FEW DAYS” of waiting had expired, *a voice from Pennsylvania was hurrying through the land*. The democratic members of the Legislature of that great State, which first had presented General Jackson, and through two contests sustained him, were now again the first to express their confidence in his administration, and to nominate him for a re-election. Awed by the independent and uncorrupted voice of this State, the managers at Washington paused in their career, to listen for the distant echoes of this deafening sound,—this unexpected annunciation. Mark how it was announced in the Telegraph.

“The *position of this press*, located at the seat of government—its presumed relation to the President, the *high respect and delicate regard*, which it has, at all times maintained for public opinion, impose restraints upon it, in relation to the discussion at *this time*, of the *propriety of his* continuance in office for *another term*.”

Again, a voice from New York, responding to the recommendation from Pennsylvania in terms of approbation, equally strong, was also heard, and these two large States, thus moving and acting together, gave answers, that whoever chose to go into retirement could do so, but that the claims of Mr. Calhoun to the Presidency would, certainly, for the present, have to be postponed. Before a recovery could be effected from these decisive movements, the *veto* of the President upon the Maysville Road Bill was announced and filled the South with joy and hope. It falsified the predictions which had been made to Mr. Ritchie, and swept away that, whence a successful opposition was expected to arise. It was perceived that the President's moral, was no less

than his physical courage, and the people of the South already exhibited a general feeling in his favor. All hope of arraying the South against the North, was seemingly impracticable, and for a time abandoned. Evidences of better feeling began to appear, and in June, the *Telegraph* undertook to show, that it had always been in favor of the re-election of General Jackson. In the mean time, the President and the Vice President had differed in relation to some incident connected with the Seminole (Indian) war, which had occasioned a coolness and separation.

Congress again assembled, and it was rumored that Mr. Calhoun intended to write a book, and give to the public his correspondence with the President. The papers were shown privately to his friends, who busied themselves in representing the affair, in conversation and in their letters, as an intrigue which had been gotten up on the part of Van Buren to destroy Mr. Calhoun. In preparing and bringing forward this address, much policy was necessary, and it was employed. I was requested to examine the manuscript, that if there was any thing in it, that could have a tendency to induce the President to reply to it, a modification might take place. The request I obeyed; but afterwards, that incident was used to prove, that the friends of the President had read and sanctioned the address, before it obtained publication. The statement, as it related to me, was illiberal and untrue.

The publication of this work again aroused party animosity, and partizans were perceived to take sides, according to their personal predilections, and to bring up the question of the succession, prematurely, as the means of creating division among the original supporters of the administration. The discussions in Congress were evidently marked by such lines of separation; and while Messrs. Ingham, Branch and Berrien, could there find apologists and advocates, the other three members of the Cabinet, were struck at, as the points of attack, by the new opposition. The one was a "malign influence," which was bending every thing to selfish purpose, while our colleagues were receiving honor, and commendation. Abuse from the papers on one side, and a disposition to retaliate from the other, was now clearly manifest. We thus had a prospect of open war between partizans of different

portions of the Cabinet, the evils of which, as was plainly to be perceived, could not but penetrate into our deliberations, interrupt business, affect the progress of public affairs, and disturb the quiet and repose of the country. While a party to contest the succession was thus organized in Congress and in the Cabinet, one of the prominent friends of Mr. Calhoun introduced a resolution, which contemplated, by a retrospective provision, to amend the Constitution, so as to exclude Gen. Jackson from being eligible to a re-election. If those who urged this measure in the House of Representatives, did not hope absolutely to disfranchise the President by obtaining such an amendment, they moved it as a means of bringing a general principle to operate on him alone, and by obtaining a vote on the abstract proposition, to urge it as the sense of the representatives of the people against his re-election. In this mode was the war waged against the fame and influence of the man who was elevated by the voice of the people, and who was again summoned by them to become a candidate, because he had realized all their hopes, as the reformer of abuses in the government, and was securing the rights of our citizens and adjusting the difficulties of the country.

The situation of the President, was now easily to be perceived. With a Cabinet politically divided, and personally, as may be presumed, not very friendly, it was impossible for him to move along in the arduous duties of his station, with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to the country. It was apparent, that, in justice to himself, he must soon be under the necessity of reorganizing his Cabinet, and if it could not otherwise be accomplished, to dismiss the disaffected portion of it. Having accepted, reluctantly, a place in the Cabinet, I concluded no longer to sacrifice my private comfort, or be the occasion of embarrassment to the President. Early in April, I communicated to him, (what in the previous month I had written to a friend in Philadelphia,) my wish and intention to resign, which I shortly after executed. In my letter of resignation, it was not necessary or proper that I should go into a history of events, such as are now presented. I confined my remarks solely to that which concerned myself, without adverting to, or touching on, the conduct of others. 1

felt not that any defence, or vindication, for voluntarily yielding my office, was necessary; and feeling no disposition to injure or assail others, I forebore to enter into details. The same determination would have been persevered in, had not the illiberal conduct of my colleagues made a different course necessary.

Mr. Van Buren taking a similar view of the condition of the Cabinet, and the situation of the President, connected with the peculiar circumstances in which he had been placed by his opponents, thought proper also to resign. Without going into a full explanation in his letter of resignation, or naming any of his colleagues, he presented briefly the result of the political intrigues, which were dividing the Cabinet, distracting the party, and which pointed to a change in the councils of the President as necessary and indispensable.

The secret feelings and designs with which my colleagues entered the Cabinet, and which while there, they continued to cherish—their “notes” of private conversations, treasured up for future and concerted use,—the advice of a certain cabal, and an acquiescence in the counsel given, to enter the Cabinet, and continue there for special purposes, notwithstanding “the insuperable bar” which conscience suggested, and the “indignity and outrage” which had been offered and borne for fifteen months, were all unknown to me. These were secrets worth preserving, and they were kept closely. Yet, entire confidence was reposed, that on being informed that Mr. Van Buren and myself had retired, the others would appreciate the motives which had occasioned it, and place their offices again at the disposition of the President, that he might organize a new Cabinet of homogeneous materials, which would not be obnoxious to the attacks of any of his professing friends, and would suffer the affairs of the country quietly to be transacted. But these gentlemen, although now they pretend that they had been grievously “insulted,” and were constantly liable to a repetition of the “outrage,” could see no cause why they should resign, either as it regarded their own honor, the quiet of the President, or the harmony of his administration. Having gone into the Cabinet to produce *discord*, they could perceive no reason why they should retire from it, to restore *har-*

mony. What they had so long and so ardently desired, being attained, [the exclusion of M^r. Van Buren and myself,] they were more than ever disposed to continue. Besides, they could not see how the Government could well move on without them, and they were solicitous to procure some justification, which they could plead to the people, for the injury which was about to result to the country at being deprived of their important services! Their honor, and the harmony of the administration, was quite insufficient! They must needs place their resignations solely on the will and the request of the President, that on his shoulders might rest the undivided responsibility of the awful deprivation which the Government and the country were to suffer from their retirement. Their wishes were gratified, and a desire communicated that they should resign. Thus was the Cabinet dissolved; and thus far the country, evidently, has sustained no injury, save in the disturbances and interruptions to the public which the complaints and murmurs of this dismissed and disbanded corps have occasioned. If, as has been stated, the President offered to two of them, Mr. Ingham and Mr. Branch, after their removal, places of trust and honor, let it be set down to his kindness, not to their merits. He did not then know these men. He did not know how incapable they were of properly appreciating acts of kindness. He was ignorant that they had entered his Cabinet, all smiles and fair professions, with daggers concealed in their bosoms. He little knew that these persons, who were admitted to his familiar intercourse, had been taking *notes* of his private conversations and free expressions, which had been coned over between them, and prepared and carefully laid away for future use. He did not in fact know, they had been spies upon him from the beginning of his administration; and that, finding themselves deprived of the means of longer stealing into his bosom, to hunt out, and note down his thoughts, they were now ready for open, implacable and exterminating war. These things he did not then know. Recent events have disclosed them.

Nor did I comprehend the depth of the designs of these three gentlemen. Having resigned my seat in the Cabinet, and being about to retire to my residence in Tennessee, I did not calculate

that I should be detained here from my home and business, to defend myself against their unprovoked attacks. In this I was mistaken. My pursuers were resolved that I should not escape the sweet revenge, which their deep mortification at the loss of office had aroused. I could not bear it longer. Messrs. Ingham and Berrien, who were here, were in habits of daily intercourse with the editor of the *Telegraph*, and their names being used in connection with the abuse which was propagated through that print against me, I conceived I had a right to enquire, whether their names had been used, and references to them made, with their sanction.

I readily admit, that no imperative obligation rests upon a man to engage in private combat, merely because he is invited to do so. Public opinion sanctions such appeals, only when the injured party has right and justice on his side, without other remedy. But a man who asserts a claim to the character of a gentleman, is bound to act like one. Mr. Ingham did not thus act, when to a plain and proper question, he returned an insulting reply, and sought "to strut the hero, and to ape the warrior," without the capacity to go through with that which so improvidently and rashly he had begun. I never asked him to admit or deny, that my family and his did or did not associate. He never so understood me. It was for the publication only, and his supposed participation in it, that I held him responsible. My correspondence with Mr. Ingham, his degrading apprehensions, false charges, and ignoble retreat, have already, through himself, been made known to the public. He is suffering merited punishment, in the contempt of the brave, the abhorrence of the honorable, and the detestation of the community.

I addressed Mr. Berrien on the same subject. The correspondence which took place, he has laid before the public in his recent address. When it terminated, I had hoped our difference was ended. His late address, however, was of a character to induce with me a belief, that my forbearance on the former occasion, had a tendency to embolden him to further malignant assaults; and accordingly, without seeking explanation, I made a direct call upon him for personal redress.

His answer was never communicated to me. The friend who acted in my behalf, finding it an argumentative, labored reply, to a plain and simple demand, returned it as a paper not of a character to be presented or received. [*See Appendix C.*] A second call was made, which resulted in a refusal on the part of Mr. Berrien, to grant the satisfaction which had been asked. He has proved that, with malice and hatred in his heart, he could wear the garb of a friend. Pretending to have claims to honor and character, he could become the traducer of a woman, seek the ruin of a family which had never harmed him, and shrink from responsibility. It must be ever so! Base men are not brave. A guilty conscience is a bad panegy on the field of honorable combat. The conscious wrong-doer anticipates the worst, and calculates to suffer, from a knowledge that he deserves it. It is not surprizing, therefore, that Mr. Berrien's conscience did not permit him to trust himself with one, whom, so wantonly and so pertinaciously, he had wronged and sought to injure. These two men, *Ingham* and *Berrien*, will stand together in after time, and with honorable men, monuments of duplicity, ingratitude and baseness—traitors to their friend, and destroyers of themselves—a memorable illustration of the melancholy truth, that “*a man may smile, and smile, and be a villain.*”

For Mr. Branch, I feel but pity and contempt. He has been the dupe of his own littleness of mind, and the victim of his more wily associates. Though he has entered into their feelings, and aided them in their designs,—has asserted *untruths*, and offered injurious imputations, I cannot find in my heart to entertain a feeling of revenge towards so humble an accomplice.

The restless, troubled spirit, that, through such secret agencies, moved and controlled all this intrigue and management, became visible last winter in his proper person. His influence and address have associated in his schemes many partizans, besides those who embarrassed the late Cabinet with difficulties. They have made themselves victims to his ambition. If he can now find pleasure in the course he has adopted for the promotion of his views, in the afflictions with which he has visited my dwelling, or in the sacrifice of the willing instruments who, as friends,

were employed to do this service, he must owe his satisfaction to the delusions of ambition. The time will come when the victims of his policy shall rise before him, like the shades which appalled the insidious and heartless usurper Richard, to disturb his slumbers, and to drive peace from him.

Detraction has struck at every thing around me. And, although it has been uniformly pretended that the persecution against me originated in great regard and delicacy for public feeling and morals, yet what are the proofs to authorize *the rumors*, about which Mr. Ingham and Mr. Berrien *would not trouble themselves to enquire*, but which, notwithstanding, they could sily and secretly whisper into circulation? They have produced none! If this be legitimate warfare, there are few who may not be subjected to the ordeal from which the most innocent cannot always escape with a name unblighted. It is a well known fact, that in this city, there are hired writers for papers at a distance; and if some incident does not, from week to week, occur to fill their page, fancy must suggest some gossip tale to be told, and printed, and circulated. The motive with the writer, is his pay—with the publisher, the gratification of the appetite for slander, reckless of the wound it may inflict. Under such a state of things, which party excitement now tolerates, of what concern is probity of character,—or what the value of a good name? It is upon this sort of anonymous rumor, propagated by the vicious and malicious, that political contrivers seized, to accomplish their purposes. Malignant as these gentlemen have shewn themselves, all I ask of them is, to waive all concealments, alledge specific charges, and adduce their proof. A conscience, “void of offence,” can meet them and defy their malice, let them but strike their blows openly and in the face of day.

But it is time to close this narrative. I am admonished, that already I have trespassed too long, and laid claims to an indulgence beyond any that I had a right to ask. I could not confine myself within narrower limits; and if I have said too much, be my apology found in this, that it is through no culpability of mine, that the public have been disturbed with private matters, and with private griefs. Patient and forbearing, I was disposed to keep

to myself the adjustment of my own wrongs. nor solicit the public to become an umpire in matters which, being private, could in nothing concern and interest them. But I am not permitted to enjoy even this humble privilege. I have been arraigned before them by men, writhing under malice, mortification, and disappointment. Idly surmising me to be the moving cause why the sun of their political glory was so suddenly shorn of its beams, they are restless, persecuting and unforgiving, and appeal to the country to redress those private griefs to which they have subjected themselves, by seeking to accomplish selfish aims at the expense of truth, honor and humanity. I throw myself upon the pardon and forgiveness of a liberal and just community for all I have said, and for any thing that may appear to be improperly said.

Your Fellow-Citizen,

JOHN H. EATON.

P. S. Gen. Robert Desha, in a letter published in the Telegraph of the 9th of August, volunteers a statement to vindicate the course of Mr. Calhoun, towards me. He says: "Maj. Eaton informed me in Tennessee, that as soon as he heard of the death of Timberlake, he determined to go on to Washington and marry his widow, and communicated his intention to Gen. Jackson, who advised him to do so." In the same letter, he says: "This is the time for the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; for it is what the people are in search of."

More than a month after this letter was written, Gen. Desha again writes a corrective letter, contradictory of the material statements of the original; and for the mistakes of the first, excuses himself by saying, that he "*did not read said letter after writing it.*" Strange indeed, that a man should prepare a letter, intended for the press, and to affect other persons, and afterwards admit it to be incorrect, and offer as matter of excuse, that he did not read it after writing it. In this corrective letter, which was written after his friends at Washington had informed him, that I had it in my power to correct it, by most indisputable testimony, he says: "I never held a conversation with Major Eaton, in Tennessee, upon that subject; but it was in the conversation had in Washington, the Major informed me, that when he was in Tennessee, and heard of the death of Mr. Timberlake, he had communicated his intentions of marrying the widow, to Gen. Jackson, who was also in Tennessee, who approved of it, and advised him to do so." The General has not gotten his story right yet. He still adheres to the point, that I was in Tennessee when I heard of the death of Mr. T., and that Gen. Jackson advised me to marry, &c.

The purpose of this statement is evident. It is that the public should infer that I could, in Tennessee, immediately on hearing of the death of Mr. T., determine "to come on to Washington," not to address, but of my own will to MARRY his widow; leaving it to be inferred, that I was not only conscious of a state of circumstances, which made it unnecessary to consult her upon the subject, but that General Jackson was also aware that such was the case.

In the Spring of 1828, while in the city of Washington, information was received at the Navy Department of the death of Mr. Timberlake. I heard of it here, not in Tennessee; and when Gen. Desha's letter appeared, there were persons in this city who knew, and said, that his statement was incorrect. Doubtless some friend here afforded him the information, which imposed the necessity of writing his second note, which, like the first, requires to be corrected. I went home to Tennessee in 1828—remained there during the Summer, and in November returned to Washington. From this place I wrote a letter to Gen. Jackson upon the subject, and in that letter stated to him my views, intentions, wishes, and expectations, and from him received an answer approving of the course I had pursued—the determination I had taken. Being possessed of this letter, I can be under no mistake as to dates or facts.

In conclusion, permit me to remark, that Gen. Desha has thrust himself into this controversy quite unnecessarily. His appearance as one of my assailants was not called for, or required. He has appeared a mere volunteer to sustain Mr. Calhoun. I know not what other object he had to answer—what other purpose to serve.

In support of what I have said, I place here a statement of Mr. Mechlin of the Navy Department. Were it necessary, others could be obtained, to show that Gen. Desha is under a mistake, in what he has said to affect me, and to affect Gen. Jackson. The character and standing of Mr. M. renders any thing further unnecessary. Mr. Mechlin says:

"In the Spring of 1828, news was received at the Navy Department, of the death of J. B. Timberlake, Purser on board the United States frigate Constitution. I set out to inform Mr. O'Neale and the family; but meeting with Major Eaton on the Avenue, who then boarded there, I requested him to communicate the information.

J. MECHLIN."

Gen. Desha also says, there was no meeting at the *last* session of Congress, with a view to obtain my removal from the Cabinet. It has not been so averred. He will not say though, that this was not the case at the session of 1829'-30.

With these explanations, which must satisfy Gen. Desha of the mistake he has made, I take leave of the subject.

J. H. F.

APPENDIX.

A.—(See page 29.)

Statement of Mr. S. P. Webster.

Previous to the Presidential election, I was in the habit of frequent intercourse with Duff Green, at his house, and more commonly at his office. In the fall of 1829, October or November, I met with General Green, and he commenced talking about Col. ———, who was then in the War Department, and whom he wished turned out. I thought he seemed rather in an angry humor, and extended his conversation to Major Eaton generally. He remarked, that his remaining in the Cabinet was of great injury to the party generally—that his situation made him the support of the weak persons of both parties; and that such persons leaned upon him for support—that he was used by the Secretary of State to forward his interested and selfish views, and that Mr. Van Buren, through him, was seeking to secure the confidence and personal friendship of General Jackson—that if Eaton continued in the Cabinet, the Secretary of State, who had influence over him, would be able to manage the President as he pleased, and direct the acts of the government to his (Mr. Van Buren's) future prospects. That General Jackson ought to send Major Eaton to Russia, or at any rate it was necessary that he should not longer remain in the Cabinet—that some of General Jackson's best friends had spoken to him freely on this subject, and if some decisive step was not taken soon, he did not know what might be the consequences.

In the course of the conversation, he observed that the President ought not to be run a second time; that he was sure he did not wish it, and would prefer retiring to the Hermitage at the end of the year; and that in effect he had promised to do so, and the people would be dissatisfied if he did not—that Mr. Van Buren was using all his art and intrigue to induce him to suffer himself to be run again; but that if he was again elected, Mr. Van Buren would have obtained such an influence over him and his friends as to be able to command their interest at a subsequent election—that we (the Jackson party,) had been fighting for the last five years against Cabinet succession, and were now quietly sitting down and permitting the Secretary of State to use General J. and

the whole interest of the Government, to ensure his future success—that, if this was permitted, we had gained nothing by the change—that the great republican party would fix upon a candidate who would get the votes of the party in 1832; and that General Jackson ought to go home. This was the last conversation or intercourse I ever had with Green, beyond a mere salutation. I plainly perceived he was no friend to General Jackson, and I determined to have no further political intercourse with him.

B—(See page 29.)

Statement of Gideon Welles, Editor of the Hartford Times.

Whilst in Hartford, Connecticut, General Green several times spoke of Major Eaton as wanting energy and independence—said that the contest which brought General Jackson into power, had been with him merely personal, not one of principle—that he exercised his influence in behalf of opposition office holders, and was opposed to removals. In conversation with him at Washington, the latter part of December, 1829, he said, it was necessary for him to leave Washington if the Administration would prosper. Although they were personal friends, and he wished him well, truth required him to state, that his remaining at Washington was injurious to the Administration—that, through him, Mr. Van Buren had already attained great influence over General Jackson, and wished him to consent to a re-election, in order to postpone Mr. Calhoun's claims, and drive him, if possible, into retirement. It is unnecessary to repeat the political views of General Green and his associates, his eulogies on Mr. Calhoun, his talents, his services, his political strength, the devotedness of his friends, particularly of Judge ———, who, though a mason, could bring in anti-masonic, federal, and religious parties. Nor need I state, how willing the faction was to sacrifice their friend, the Judge, with all his popularity, if Mr. Van Buren would cease pressing a re-election on the President, and consent to be placed on a ticket as Vice President. Had that arrangement been made, or any other that would have secured Mr. Calhoun the Presidency, nothing probably would have been heard of Cabinet and family difficulties at Washington, nor Mr. Ingham have assailed me. As I learned by that conversation, Gen. Green's object was to bring forward Mr. Calhoun for President; and he and his advisers considered Major Eaton and Mr. Van Buren as obstacles. He seemed to suppose, however, that if Eaton was removed, all would be peace and harmony, and removed he must be.

Mr. Calhoun, he said, had no influence with the President, and could have none while Major Eaton remained there, nor could any of his friends receive appointments, so long as he remained in the Cabinet. Knowing that I had been an advocate for Gen. Jackson since 1824, he endeavored to enlist jealousy by representing that Mr. Van Buren, through Major Eaton, was endeavoring to confer all appointments on the old Crawford party. It was indispensable to the prosperity of the Administration, therefore, and the harmony of the members, that he should leave Washington.

He admitted that Branch and Berrien had treated Maj. Eaton unkindly. That they had courted his society the previous winter; were frequently riding with him and Mrs. Eaton, and that each were under greater personal obligations to him than any other individual except the President. Mr. Branch, he seemed to think most culpable, as through Maj. Eaton, principally, he said, he had intruded himself into an office, to the surprise of all; and when the whole country had their eyes on another. It was that, he said, which had defeated *his* and *my* wishes, and of most of our friends. But that between these gentlemen, there was now particular animosity.

There was one way in which Maj. Eaton could retire honorably and victorious. By accepting the mission to Russia, it would be making an honorable exchange for the War Department, and all were willing Mr. Branch should be dismissed, which would furnish a triumph to Eaton. This arrangement of having both leave the Cabinet, would satisfy all parties. It was desirable Major Eaton should leave the Cabinet, and leave Washington. The mission to Russia was an honorable post, and he and Baron Kruener were friends, and on intimate terms. This arrangement he spoke of as having been for some time UNDER CONSIDERATION, and he assured me, there would be a change of the Cabinet before Congress closed its session. He mentioned the individual who would probably succeed Mr. Branch. He alluded to an "insuperable bar" to this arrangement, provided Maj. Eaton was refractory, and determined to remain, and that was, in overcoming the friendly feelings of the President. He seemed to despond when he spoke of the abiding affection, which formed so prominent a trait in his character, and which never would permit him to forsake a friend.

C—(See page 45.)

Correspondence between Mr. Eaton and Mr. Berrien.

WASHINGTON CITY, Monday Morning, July 25th, 1831.

SIR: In your letter to me of the 18th of June, in reply to mine of the preceding day, you in effect say, (although denying my

right to interrogate you,) that the attacks made upon me, in a paper of this city, were "without your agency." You volunteered the declaration, that you did not "think it necessary to decide upon the truth or falsehood of the statements which were made," in relation to my family; leaving me to understand, that as you had formed no opinion, so neither had you expressed one, in any wise derogatory of me. After these explicit disavowals as to yourself, I did not deem it proper to take exception, or to hold you personally accountable, for conforming to *rumors* which you may have heard, or "to the general sense of the community," which you so falsely assume as a pretext to injure me, and to disparage hundreds of the most respectable persons in our country, who have maintained friendly relations with me and my family—persons in all respects equal in standing with you, and those who hold intercourse with you. Upon this proof of my forbearance a forbearance which I ever hope to exercise, except in cases of high emergency, you have grown bold; and in a labored article recently addressed to the public over your signature, giving countenance and sanction to the base slanders which have been propagated against me in my domestic relations. You speak of them "as evils which presented an insuperable bar to your entering the Cabinet;" and that your assent was finally given, under the persuasion that the President would speedily see his error, and by removing me, correct the evil. This is what you intend to say, omitting at the same time a material fact, which was known to you, that I was the identical person through whom was communicated to you the desire of the President, that you should enter his Cabinet; and that through the same person you returned an answer, offering at the time private business only as a reason why you could not, and did not, at the instant of the application, make a prompt acceptance or refusal.

Sir, the open attempt now made, unprovoked—one altogether uncalled for by any course of mine towards you—is obvious to every eye. The whole nation must perceive that your object and purpose is to mark me with dishonorable imputation. These efforts of yours, so persevered in, will, I confidently believe and hope, justify me to the American people, and to all honorable men, in requiring of you *the reparation* due to one who so wantonly has been abused, insulted, and injured; and accordingly I do require it.

With due respect,

J. H. EATON.

To JNO. MCPHERSON BERRIEN, Esq.

P. S. This letter was prepared to be delivered to you on Monday, but the absence of the friend, who was expected to be the bearer, the daily expectation of his return, and the difficulty of procuring one unconnected here with the Government, has occasioned the delay.

J. H. E.

To this letter a long argumentative reply was returned. I never saw it. My friend refused to receive it, as not being a proper and definite answer to the call. Gen. HUNTER's letter explains what afterwards took place. It is as follows:

WASHINGTON, *Tuesday Evening, 2nd August, 1831,*

DEAR SIR: I enclose to you the correspondence which has taken place between General JONES and myself, to whom I was referred as the friend of Mr. BERRIEN.

You will perceive, from the character the transaction had assumed in my absence, I had only one course to pursue on my return to this City, which was to explain the reason of that absence, and require of Mr. BERRIEN, to an explicit *demand*, an answer equally so. I was informed, verbally, by the General, that his friend had taken his ground, in the rejected communication, from which he would not depart; and that if the case of Major EATON was pressed further at this time, it was to be understood as declined. I, however, thought it best to deliver my note, and await a written reply. Gen. JONES' letter of the 2nd of August, in answer to mine of the first—nothing other than a confirmation of what had been verbally declared to me the previous evening—and I accordingly assumed upon myself to say, as your friend, I could hold no further correspondence with him on the subject. Deeming it unnecessary and improper to proceed further, as I considered the matter finally closed, I remit it back to your hands. In conducting this business, I take occasion to say, that I was at the place of conference during Thursday and the next day from 10 to 3 o'clock, leaving a note saying, I should again be in attendance on Saturday.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HUNTER.

MAJ. JOHN H. EATON.

Copy of a letter, addressed by Gen. Hunter to Mr. Berrien, which he was directed to deliver to Gen. Jones, as the friend of Mr. Berrien, dated

WASHINGTON CITY, 1st August, 1831.

SIR—Severe indisposition since Friday evening last, confined me to my bed, and prevented me from conferring with you on the subject of Major Eaton's call of Thursday. I was consequently not in place when your answer of Saturday, (as I understand,) was presented. Hence, from necessity, it was read by another friend, who, deeming it inadmissible, returned it.

I now await your answer. The call of Major Eaton is explicit. it is expected the answer will be equally so.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your most obedient,

ALEXANDER HUNTER.

JOHN MCPHERSON BERRIEN, Esq.

Copy of so much of Gen. Jones' letter to me, in answer to mine of the 1st of August, addressed to Mr. Berrien, as relates to the subject matter, received

12 O'CLOCK, 2d August, 1831.

DEAR GENERAL—In answer to the note which you put into my hands at parting this evening, for Mr. Berrien, I can only recapitulate, in few words, what, for your private satisfaction as a gentleman and man of honor, I have already communicated to you verbally.

According to Mr. Berrien's appointment with you on Thursday, he sent by a member of his family, (wholly unapprised at the time, of the nature and tendency of the correspondence,) a sealed letter to yourself, enclosing a written answer to the note delivered by you from Major Eaton. The bearer of this answer attended several times, both on Friday and Saturday, at the place of appointment, but without meeting you, in consequence, as I now understand, of your confinement at home from indisposition. On Saturday, he was met at the place of appointment by another friend of Major Eaton, with authority to receive the communication in your place; which, after being opened and read, was forthwith returned to Mr. Berrien, with a verbal intimation that Major Eaton would not receive it.

This seems to close the door to all correspondence between the parties, and of course to any communication in reference to the original demand upon Mr. Berrien, between third persons, acting in their behalf. In Mr. Berrien's proffered answer to Maj. Eaton, he has taken his ground, and upon that, under existing circumstances, he must stand as firm and immoveable as he would upon any other that he might have elected. After the indignity of having the answer, which he had devised, thrown back upon his hands as unworthy of reply, without the slightest explanation how or why it was deemed inadmissible *in limine*, he cannot submit to the task of graduating new answers by an imaginary scale, till he may chance to have descended to some supposed degree of admissible answer. I was myself wholly unapprised of this unhappy affair, till it was communicated to me this morning: when I engaged, in case you should take any further agency in the matter, to explain to you individually as a gentleman, what guarded respect to the original medium of communication be-

tween the parties. Mr. B. had observed in all that had been transacted during your absence, and how completely all direct and authorized intervention had been cut off, and the affair remitted to the discretion of mere parties. Such was the beginning, and such was the end of my present commission.

Copy of my answer to the foregoing letter, dated

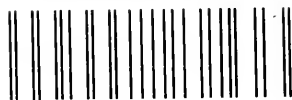
WASHINGTON, 2d August, 1831.

DEAR GENERAL.—From your note of this morning, it appears that the matter, so far as you are concerned, as the friend of Mr. Berrien, is terminated—as the friend of Major Eaton, I can, therefore, hold no further correspondence with you.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

ALEXANDER HUNTER.

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